MODERN TECHNOLOGIES OF MANIPULATION AS INSTRUMENT OF CHANGE OF POLITICAL REALITY ARE IN UKRAINE

Vitaly Vedeneyev
Associate Professor, PhD, Kryvyi Rih Economic Institute
of Kyiv National Economic University named after Vadym Hetman,
e-mail: vedeneev_vo@kneu.dp.ua, orcid.org/0000-0002-1307-3837, Ukraine
Olha Orlova
Associate Professor, PhD, Kryvyi Rih Economic Institute
of Kyiv National Economic University named after Vadym Hetman,
e-mail: oiorlova0477@gmail.com, orcid.org/0000-0003-4919-6350, Ukraine

Abstract. In the article examined, that there is a process of political reality constructing by means of the use the various manipulation technologies that allow popularizing "necessary" to the politicians' ideas that afterwards grow into soil of the counted scenario the political development events. Attention applies on the phenomenon of mythological political life, considered through the prism of social life symbolizing psychological process, illustrates effectiveness of external influence mechanisms on mass consciousness at man. It is underlined that mechanisms of external influence on mass consciousness at man is unchanging sufficiently long time and exist almost so much how many exist human civilization. The role of mass-media is shown as to the instrument of virtualization of the real political space and means of this virtual reality constructing.

Keywords: political culture, communication, MASS-MEDIA, virtual reality, political space, constructing of political reality, establishment of order-paper, is real.

Introduction

Substantial changes in society, that gradually take place in Ukraine on the draught of the last fourth of century, affect informative space of country, eventually resulted in the increase of channels of political communication and to appearance of political-information technologies that create new rich in content offenses and symbols of power. These rich in content offenses and symbols of new power are called radically to change the traditional political culture of society, relation of individuals and groups to the displays so-called "political". By such method, by means of MASS-MEDIA and other channels of communication, there is introduction of the new, changed realities. And that, which create cultural codes and translates them, get power and real influence on society.

It is needed to bear in a mind, that exactly in these sometimes not simple relations of politicians and MASS-MEDIA the possible root of the phenomenon of political manipulation hides. At modern terms by means of MASS-MEDIA a political process acquires the type of cvazepoliticans - political game, growing into the theatricalizing raising there is possibility systematic to attract the citizens of entire country to the supervision of that. The system of such cvazepoliticans rising creates terms for popularization of necessary to the politician's ideas.

We can look after how the "MASS-MEDIA converted a policy into a media process, stimulating corresponding changes in the process of communication, related to creation of virtual political space, creation of hyperrealist and other symbolic mechanisms of support of competition for state power. The act of communication of power with society the format of political relations began in itself to determine. Communication became the system creation element of policy, and her support became society to the main tasks of all modes that entered on the under industrial stage of development" *(Kovaliov, 2014)*. By a consequence aforesaid there is that real a political process yields to a mistime the virtual, symbolic enough political process in that gradually the role of mass-media grows as to the means of constructing of this virtual reality.

The process of constructing of political reality consists in a selection realization of various technologies that allow presenting an idea that is illuminated in the necessary light. Afterwards it can grow into soil of certain scenario to constructing of reality. It can be both simply adaptation for stage of certain events within the framework of political campaign and substitution of the real activity symbolic that removes essence of image of politician. Basic work on constructing of reality is based on bright image of politician and stereotypes. These obligatory attributes promote, through bringing in of technologies of warring and emotional including, to perception of those rituals and actions that need to the politician an audience.

The algorithms of the higher described modern processes it follows to search in researches, on the face of it not as unconnected with a policy. So the phenomenon of mythocalization of primitive life, considered through the prism of psychological process of symbolizing the social life, on the face of it sufficiently poorly correlate with processes that take place in a modern policy. And the no less self-research of these processes that took place within the limits of mentality of primitive people, the mechanisms of manipulation technologies that is used in a modern policy explain.

At one time L. Levi-Briul, studying the features of primitive mentality, psychology of primitive people *(Levi-Briul, 2012)*, shows that perception of the world of primitive people is saturated with the spirit of mysticism, that has a display in imperative character of myths. Primitive mentality does not eliminate, but also on always inherits to the laws of logic. In her next to that is logically reasonable, there is that is based on emotional that provide communications in a human association. In collective presentations of primitive people, where an object simultaneously can be and by itself, and by something other, the law of so connected, that eventually and determines appearance of certain sign or symbol, leads by an associative row between a totem, mythical animal or plant and human association, having for an association sacral maintenance. In primitive societies exactly symbolizing and serialization of power stipulated a psychological submission to the leader. A large value in these societies was also spared to the rituals, ceremonies, invocations, - that is different family to the symbolic actions that were the original channels of communication between the transmitter of power and association.

The not last role in mythicalization of life, psychological process of symbolizing of social life considered through a prism, belongs to the word, language, as to the means of communication. In opinion of Bart all, that is covered by discourse" *(Bart, 2000)* can become a "myth, id est it is related to the word. A myth can hide in a language, setting up for last *(Bart, 2000)*. Moreover a bright, emotionally charged word is able to convert an ordinary event, ordinary information on a myth that acquires status of symbol that provides combination transcendent and real in social life of man *(Korniev, 2005)* automatically.

Viability of social myths is in a great deal explained by their possibility, in opinion of K. Levi-Stross, to provide the logically reasonable algorithm of resolution of existent conflicts *(Levi-Stross, 2001).* It follows to bear in a mind that the substantial elements of myth and mythological communication do not change. At all times a myth was and remains psychologically an accessible to all people answer for the publicly meaningful problems of life *(Pocheptsov, 2000).*

At modern terms in society due to the system of more quality communication rapid creation of social myths and political symbols related to them is possible. More technically perfect modern facilities of communication are able to embrace a territorial separate audience and unite it by means of certain ideas that enter in the complement of the created social myths. Thus, there is interference with consciousness of man, due to the use of modern facilities of influence. A question about the methods of constructing of reality and creation of myths was examined already repeatedly. But as in this process a basic role is played by facilities of translation of information, then a determinative are rules of work of journalists and all media sphere.

As known, basic principle of work of journalists is a search of new and actual now information. Actuality of new is provided:

1) if she answers the real time and;

2) has sensationalness.

Moreover, only the sensationalness of new allows to come into the notice of audience. It means that far not each, it is important though and, a report has the opportunity to get in the block of news. Information that is illuminated in MASS-MEDIA sets certain tone to every informative producing, form an order-paper as list of basic events. Accordingly, a basic method of constructing and virtualization of political reality is establishment of informative order-paper. A term "establishment of order-paper" appears first in 1972 in researches of the prominent American sociologists of M. Mac Comb's and D. Show.

An order-paper is determined as a sequence of questions that come into question in accordance with the hierarchy of their meaningfulness for society. An order-paper is a category dynamic, without regard to that some concrete political theme comes into question in certain moment of time. The dynamics of process has a display in the permanent change of themes, development of plot of events. The competition of themes that potentially must lay hands on attention of citizens is thus marked. Themes compete for possibility to be discussed and "determined as a conflict between groups that is identified, round the procedural or rich in content questions of distribution of positions" *(MacCoumbs & Show, 1972).* At the same time typical for most ordinary citizens of the whole world, in opinion of M. MacCoumbs and D. Show, that people do not can and does not wish to understand the endless stream of events that take place in the real world. People laid on MASS-MEDIA for a search and selection of public facts in the important on your own spheres of life. The feature of the Ukrainian situation is that she additionally becomes complicated by legal nihilizm and political lack of education of our most compatriots. Afterwards B.Bahdycian, D. Bell, D. Kryppendorf, H. Xomski, - the western researchers of theory of mass communications are known, studied this group of problems, related to work of MASS-MEDIA.

So B. Bahdycian asserts "that, who has the opportunity the first to report a new or give ideas, acquires political power - power, that allows something to expose or, vice versa, hide, about what to say, and to fall something silent, waiting on an opportunity, to give necessary interpretation because it is discovered" *(Bahdycian, 1987).* Sufficiently known is circumstance that most large world corporations use force of MASS-MEDIA, including those

editor-in-chiefs in the complement of board of directors of the companies. Thus, they try to control the stream of information about the company.

Such course of world events changed a relation in an order-paper and presently interpreted not as fact of public attention, but as manipulation technology is certain. Agenda of setting ("establishment of order-paper") is driving of certain set of ideas the home of audience. Diacova distinguishes the next functions of order-paper *(Diyakova, 2003)*: for firstly, purposeful awakening or strengthening of interest of society to the certain problems, personalist, establishments; for secondly, change of public priorities in the moment of informative campaign and possibility of change of priorities in the programs of various parties, officials and politicians; for thirdly, increase of political activity and degree of articulation of public opinion on major issue that is examined in an informative order-paper.

There are three types of notices of day: personality, interpersonally and public. A most value is acquired exactly by a public order-paper, as personality can change in the direction set by the producer of news. But in the context of the problem declared in the article it follows to pay attention to that in society except an informative order-paper exists and political, that is characterized by a set by themes that influence on the process of acceptance of political decisions. As in the repressing amount of cases of MASS-MEDIA oriented to illumination self of political problems as most issues of the day of society, then exactly a political order-paper substantially influences on the correction of media order-paper, but not vice versa.

And examples here quite a bit, when appearance in media sphere of any influential political figure transfers focus of attention of MASS-MEDIA from one publicly meaningful themes on other. Presidents, prime ministers, general public prosecutor as figures, dominant in media and political spaces, the offered order-paper and make another accent focus of attention of MASS-MEDIA are able instantly to change before on the new object of supervision.

Long-term experience of supervision testifies that a theory of establishment of order-paper is one of the more effective technologies of mass political communication that is sent to forming of public order-paper, advantageous for that or other politician or political party. It technologies on a line influences on the electoral estimation of different political events and activity of separate politicians, parties, and that is why sufficiently is actively used in an electoral process, where scenario approach is used exactly to forming of events. The most traditional reception of scenario approach is realization of different sort of actions, demonstrations, mass meeting both political, and in general lines social character. Creation of informative occasion can lean against any theme. Main for electoral technology is appearance in focus of public attention of politician and his surroundings in a necessary context.

Most prime examples of the use of scenario method and method of forming of order-paper in a pre-election race and fight for power we find a century in home political history of XXI. For example, it is Ukrainian electoral company of 2004 of times of "Pomarancheva revolution", "already entered history as victory of the newest technologies of "informative war" over an administrative resource" *(Zlyvkov, 2005)*. The able use of psychological and media factors allowed winning on elections to the opposition candidate in the conditions of absence of support from the side of ruling elite. The special value political scientists spare to the circumstance that without regard to the limited nature of informative space that the supporters of opposition could use, however there were the found facilities and technologies for distribution of information among the citizens of Ukraine and world concord. First on the walks of life of Ukraine sufficiently scale and system used the social networks of the Internet and satellite TV channels for illumination of events of revolution in the on-line mode. Thus,

there was the provided availability of information for the foreign and national Ukrainian TV channels. Organizers of electoral marathon opposition to the candidate provided to itself, firstly, public resonance is needed, and, secondly, inwardly Ukrainian and world in general lines support.

Examining a pre-election campaign in Ukraine as a theatrical, it is possible to notice next signs earlier the pre-arranged and well carefully thought out scenario: there was the stage - Space of independence, heroes are two basic candidates V. Yushchenko and V. Yanukovych, a retinue of heroes is party coalition of "Force to the people" and party "Party of Regions". As stage-directors and scenario writers came forward political strategists, that realized the program of actions - own scenario that was base on idea of opposition of power and people, when people got tired from pseudo democracy. As technology of dichotomization, it is differentiation of informative space on "good" and "bad", on "good" and "evil", comfortable and clear to the ordinary citizen "scenery" - varicolored party symbolic *(Fesenko, 2005)* is used sufficiently. Exactly these details helped to bring over a mass audience to the electoral process and converted opposition motion into mass revolutionary protest.

As any interesting, and main winning history "Pomarancheva revolution" had the continuation in home political life. Party is "Our Ukraine" in future on a draught 2005 - 2010 successfully used pre-election colors and symbols. That is afterwards the attribute of winners of times of "Pomarancheva revolution" went out outside a pre-election fight and began to be used as a symbol of freedom and independence in the acceptance of state decisions by Ukrainian power. And word "Pomarancheva" became on some time outside Ukraine by the synonym of concept "oppositions".

Not succeeding to the details related to the features of "Revolution of dignity" 2013 - 2014 *(Tkachuk, 2014)* can establish, that the above-mentioned technology is used no less successfully in second times. It is evidently observed as well as in the days of "Pomarancheva revolution" well carefully thought out to the scenario: the stage is Space of independence, heroes - V. Yanukovych and A. Yatseniuk, a retinue of heroes is parties "Party of Regions" and "Folk front" *(Yamel'nyts'kyy, 2014).* A scenario of process once again was base on idea of opposition of power and people that refreshes oneself dichotomization of informative space, differentiation of political forces on "good" and "bad", on "propower" and "opposition", on the supporters of euro integration and supporters of the Customs union.

There is and begins to be used a new attribute. Afterwards the word-combination of "Revolution of dignity" becomes symbolic. In second times at Ukraine scale and system used the networks of the Internet and satellite TV channels for illumination of events of revolution in direct ether.

Maybe, that in third times we look after as the higher mentioned scenario begins to be used in autumn 2017 - to beginning 2018 One of main players of political theatrical - M. Saakashvili, which is the founder of party "Ruhr of new forces", and gives it's a shot to seize the initiative or lead "Ruhr for the release of Ukraine from oligarchs and traitors". Last political force - is public motion of veterans and military powers of Ukraine that come forward for realization in Ukraine of scale political reform. Requirements of protesting - to pass acts about limitation of deputy inviolability (No. 6773), about an anticorruption court (No. 6011) and new electoral rules *(Sobolev, 2018).*

For advices of objectivity it follows to pay attention to that M. Saakashvili can not be select, firstly, after the Article of a 76 Constitution of Ukraine in the complement of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (because lives in a country 5 less than), secondly, after the

Article of 103 Constitutions of Ukraine on position of President of Ukraine *(Constitution of Ukraine, 2016)*, and, thirdly, parties "Ruhr of new forces" has sufficiently subzero support among the population of Ukraine, it rating on 22.11.2017 makes 1,6 % polled *(Press release on the results of sociological research, 2017)*. Time will show, maybe illumination of MASS-MEDIA of protest activity of M. Saakashvili, afterwards in general it will be appraised by political analysts as the "informative noise" of media space, arranged by political strategists with the purpose of to distract our attention from the supervision of major information. It is however needed to bear in a mind, that an origin of third Space is under certain circumstances, as "reserve power of revolution" *(Arendt, 2016)* fully credible because after "Revolution of dignity" system changes do not take place in Ukraine.

Examples are made brightly testifies that the modern Ukrainian policy increasingly reminds the theatricalizing raising, in that appropriately to use scenario approach for bringing in of wide audience in a policy and to realize the tasks related to manipulation of state administration processes thus. In this case it is important to understand that these technologies it maybe to use both for stabilizing and for destabilization of political life of country. To wash electing the use of this technology fully depends on the customers of "political theatrical" - politicians-professionals.

The events of the last fifteen years evidently testify that in Ukraine, on our eyes, during forming of democratic principles of Ukrainian society, opposition politicians-professionals, by means of political strategists and journalists, used in 2004, 2014 and give it a shot to use in 2018 the wave of folk dissatisfaction as "All Ukrainian Maiden" *(Rubtsov, 2008)* in it own interests. There is possibility to assert that by means of forming of "correct" order-paper and realization of scenario approach takes place to manipulation public consciousness, in the consequence of those opposition politicians-professionals, heading folk protest actions, intercept folk initiative, and take state power under the control. And requirements of protesting about system changes in society once again remain unfulfilled.

Conclusions and suggestions

Thus, in informative under industrial society of communication is essence soil of policy in general and political processes in particular. It is related first of all to that a policy exists exceptionally in media space, public space, mediated by activity of MASS-MEDIA that transform her primary soil to understanding and interests of ordinary citizens. This position touches all levels of state administration and all levels of communication - from interpersonally to mass. Reason of publicity of policy is in understanding of soil of democratic policy as power of people that must be the direct participant of political processes. The MASS-MEDIA assist bringing in of citizens faucets to the political processes.

However MASS-MEDIA have ability to manipulate public consciousness also. For realization of this function it is necessary virtualization of reality. Reality virtualize by means of activity of journalists that give to the political processes of such selection interpretation, those ordinary citizens begins to consider most essential on your own exactly offered to him interpretations of reality. Virtual reality it is difficult to change, re-focusing attention from one event on other. Thus, an unexperienced in political questions ordinary man easily grows into a pawn in the hands of political strategists and journalists. Aiming to understand complications of political life ordinary man, gets instead of political reality in virtual reality of the symbolic space, created by the numeral TV channels, newspapers and magazines.

Exactly the symbolic of policy gives an opportunity to manipulate political behavior of public. Creating and tuning events under a the media process, politicians use possibilities of MASS-MEDIA for forming of artificial, virtual reality that favorably affects perception of image of politician and his rating citizens. Therefore forming of "correct" order-paper became favorite technology both out-distanced pre-election and frank race for power. It should be noted that in Ukraine during the last almost fifteen years there is possibility to look after how a process of simultaneous transformation and combination of the real policy is and space MASS-MEDIA in the engrossing informative field.

The above-mentioned testifies to that, in the world and in Ukraine already the new virtual picture of life, technology of influence became reality on that require research with the aim of both counteraction to them and for the use with the aim of acceleration of the system changes sent to development of democratic society European to the standard.

Therefore exactly on these considering the purchased information needs to be distributed among people, occupy them political enlightening *(Pantyn, 2010)*, gradually to bring over to the real policy, converting to the same in politically well-educated citizens, who have experience of counteraction to foregoing monopolization technologies. As a "alphabet of politician" of alternative way specifies to us pity it does not exist. Democracy is not only a high level of the state of population, but also sufficiently high level of both general and political culture of citizens.

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